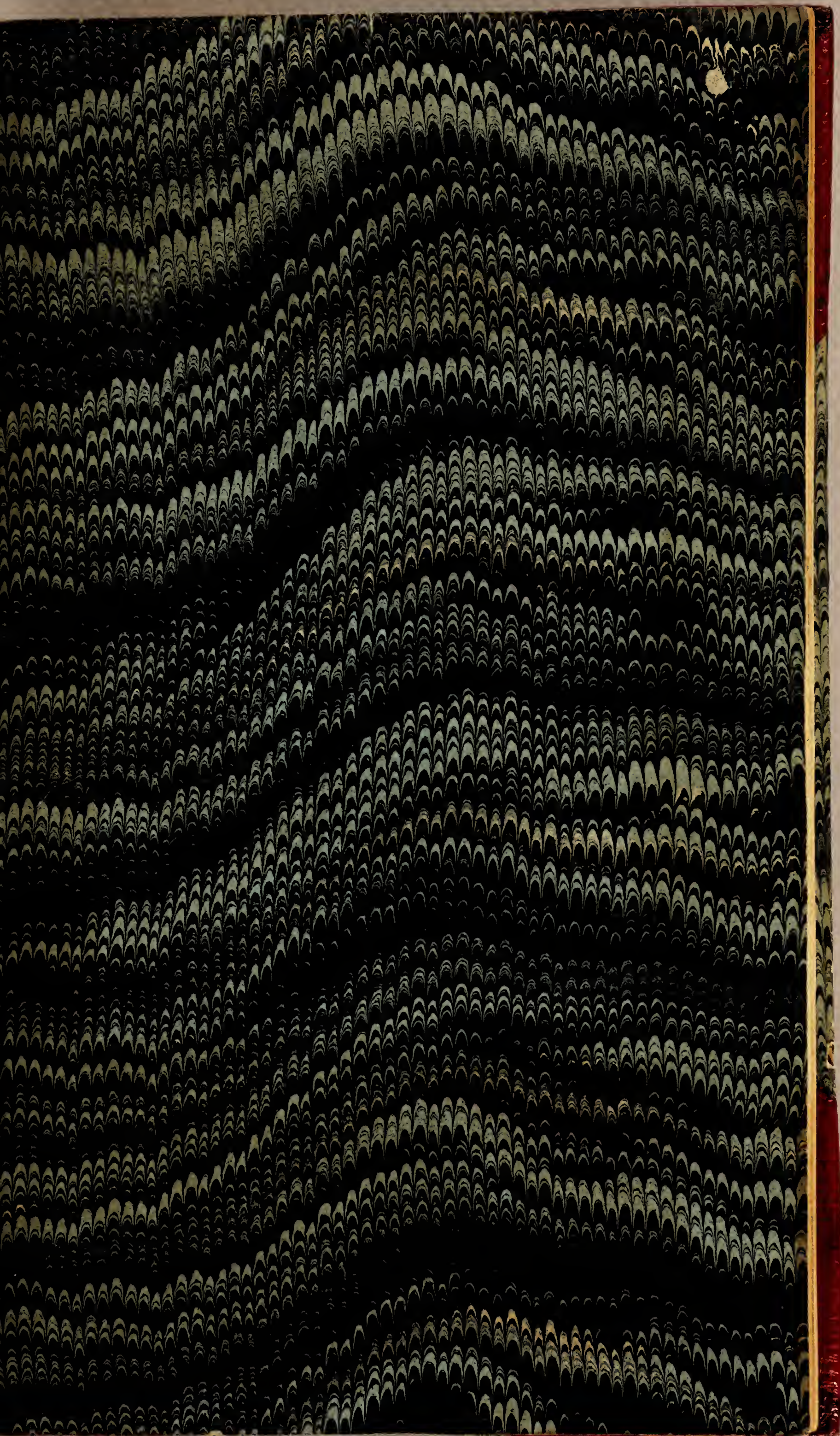




John Carter Brown.



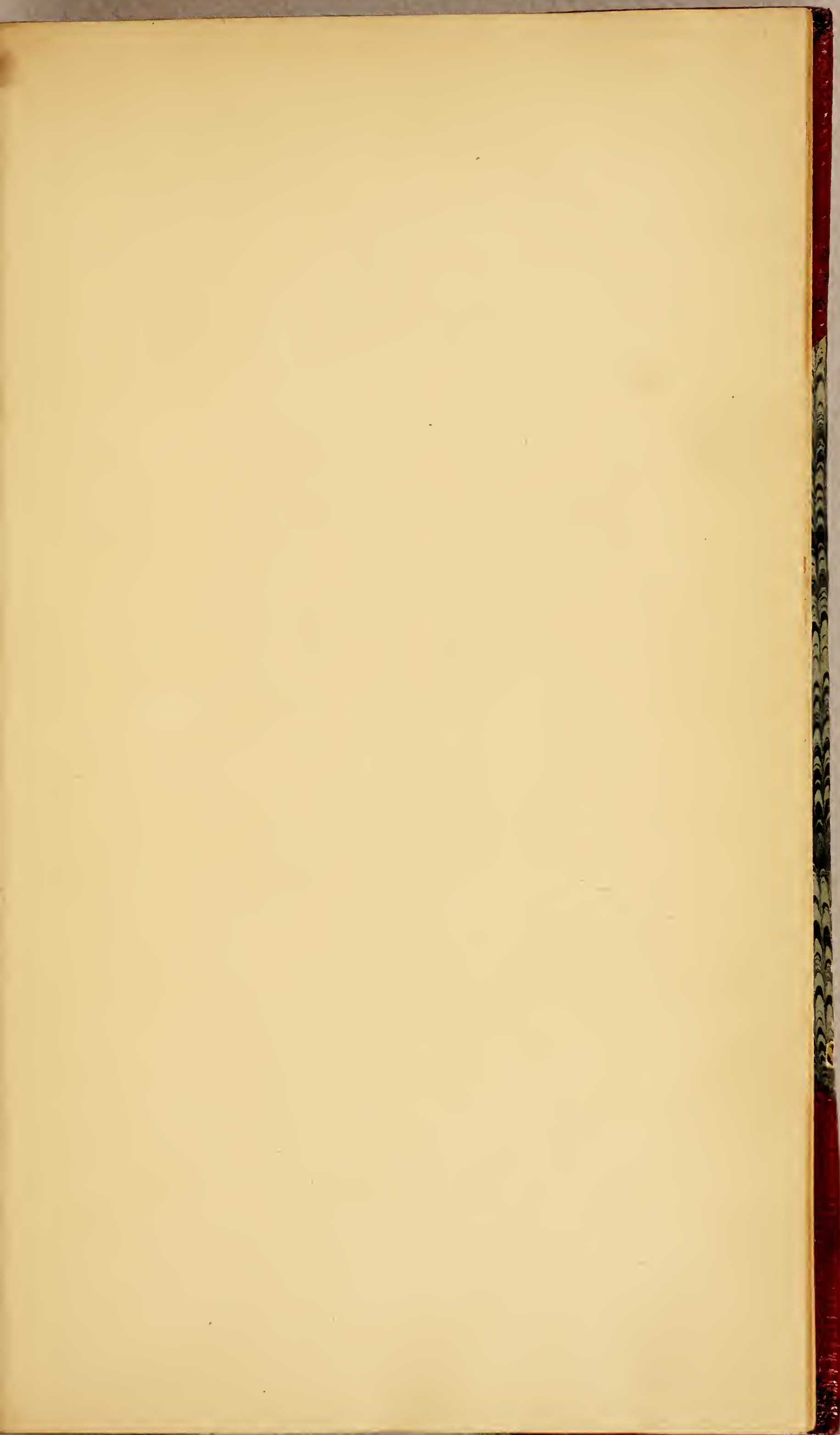
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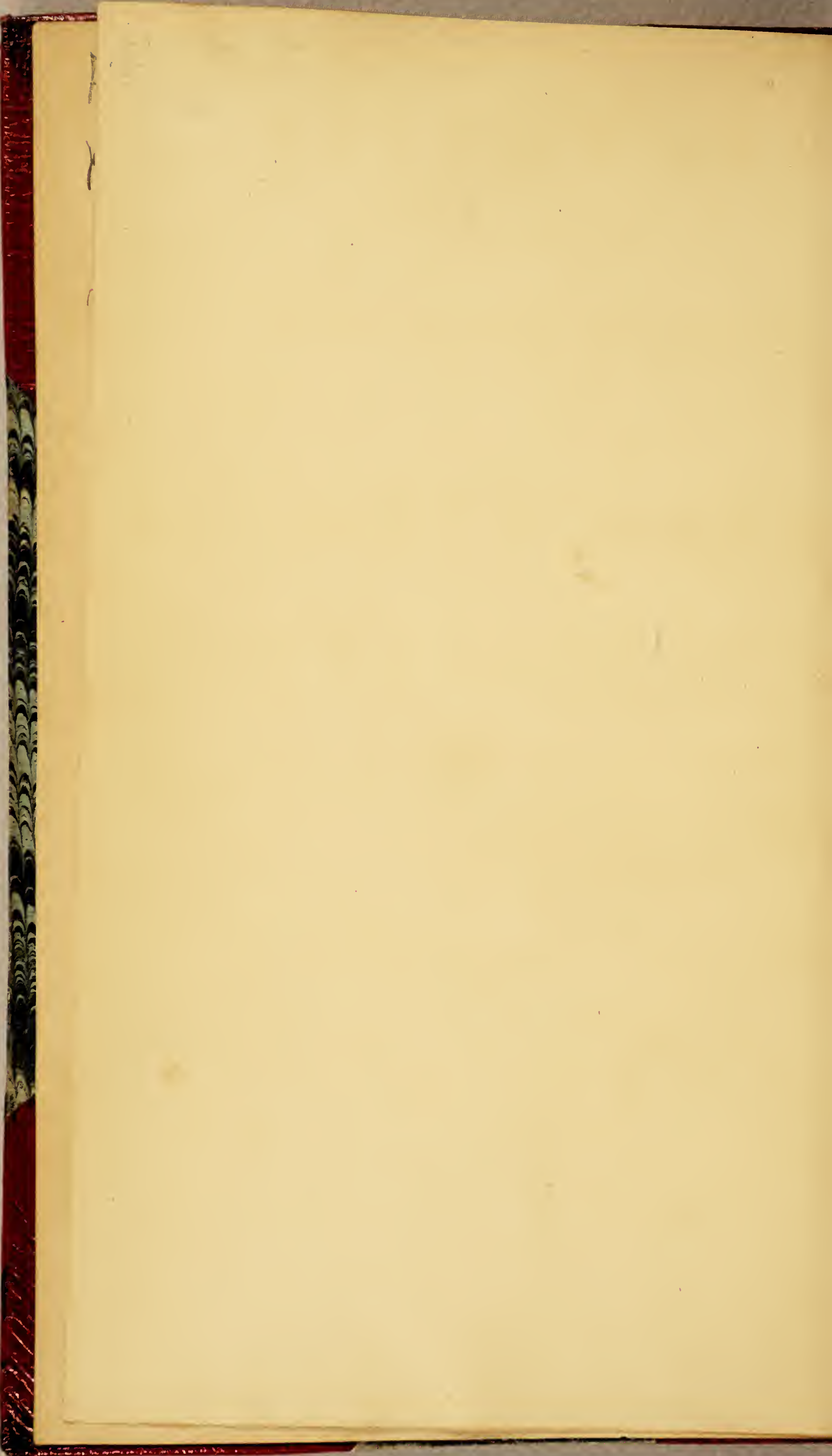
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McCulloch, W. J.





PROPOSALS

For Uniting the

ENGLISH COLONIES

ON THE

Continent of *America*

So as to enable them to act with Force
and Vigour against their Enemies.



L O N D O N:

Printed for J. WILKIE, behind the *Chapter-House*, in
St. Paul's Church-yard.

M, DCC. LVII.

[Price 1 s.]

9 Jan. '95
3077



THE
P R E F A C E.



ALTHO' in the following Discourse the Author treats principally of such Matters as relate to *America*, yet as they have some Connection with a Treatise lately published, intituled, *The Fatal Consequences of the Want of System in the Conduct of Publick Affairs*, it may not be improper to explain some Particulars, in which the Intention of the said Essay seems to have been misunderstood.

It has been made a Question how the first Principles of the Constitution can consist in a Renewal of the System of the Publick Boards?

To which he answers, that the Preservation of the Rights and Privileges of the Subject consists principally in the Union or Harmony of the three great Powers which form the Commonwealth, *viz.* King, Lords, and Commons; and that the Strength and Vigour of the Government depend wholly upon the proper Exercise of the Regal Power, which again depends not only upon the due Administration of Justice, but also in a great Measure upon a strict Adherence to the antient Rules or System of the Publick Boards. So that in this Respect the System of the Publick Boards is to be considered as one of the first Principles of the Constitution, upon which the Unity of Action, or the uniform Prosecution of Business, wholly depends. As in a Watch, if any of the Parts be put out of Order, the Whole is rendered useless.

AND

AND therefore the View and Design of the above Discourse was to enquire, whether, in the original System or Constitution of this Government, any certain Measures, or Rules, with respect to subordinate and delegated Powers, were to be found, by which the Good of Society might be effectually ascertained? As also, whether, by a Neglect of these Measures, and an inconsiderate Pursuit of every Species, or first Appearance, of Good, all the rational and necessary Ends of Government might not be destroyed?

AND, in the Course of that Essay, the Author endeavours to demonstrate, that the Strength and Vigour of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign principally consisted in maintaining an uniform Course of Proceeding in the publick Offices, and in preserving the Officers of a lower Class from a servile Dependance on their Superiors.

He

HE shews, that after the Accession of the *Stuart* Family, the breaking in upon the System of the publick Offices silenced those Informations that ought to have been given to the Crown, both with respect to the Revenue, and to publick and private Affairs : So that there could not, under such Circumstances, be any Consistency in our Government, either in the Conduct of War or in Peace.

AND in the whole of that Essay, he only recited the different Regulations, which have been made relating to the Privy Council, Treasury, Admiralty, &c. with such Remarks as were conceived to be pertinent to the Subject, without pointing out any new System, or Plan to be observed.

IN treating of this Subject, he was obliged to make use of the Terms peculiar to the Offices, which some Persons may not comprehend ; a little Attention, however, will make them clear enough to a sensible Reader.

HIS

His principal View was to draw the Attention of the Publick to the Importance of the Subject, before he treated of the System of the Publick Boards since the Year 1690: In the Prosecution of which many Things of a very interesting Nature will necessarily arise, and be brought to the View of the Publick; and it would have been very imprudent in him to have carried on a Work of so important a Nature, without being first able to judge of the Disposition of those who have the Power to redress. However, he hopes that the candid Reader will not accuse him of Vanity, as a Dwarf may often see many Things which a Giant may overlook; and that by pointing out the Road to more able and skilful Persons, he may be the Means of saving this Nation from imminent Danger and Distress.

WITH respect to the present Essay, its Design is humbly to propose a Plan for uniting the *English* Colonies on the Continent of *America* for their mutual Defence. Some
Readers

Readers may not fully understand certain Parts of this Discourse ; but they will be so candid, as not to censure the Performance until they be better informed of the Course of Business in *America*. Such as are Judges of the Matter, if they see any reasonable Objections to what is proposed, will, it is hoped, for the Benefit of our Colonies, propose some other Expedient for the uniting of them : By which the Author will gain all that he aims at, as his Endeavours have been wholly calculated for the Service of the Publick, without the least View, or Intention, to reflect on any Persons, who either have been, or now are, in Power.

P R O P O -



PROPOSALS

FOR

Uniting the *English* Colonies on the
Continent of *America*, so as to
enable them to act with Force and
Vigour against their Enemies.



IN a Treatise published in 1755 *, I
observed, that the Policy and Genius
of all Governments are best dis-
cerned by their Course of proceed-
ing in their great Offices; and as
we had then, and have now, many Concerns
of a very interesting Nature depending with

* Intituled, The Wisdom and Policy of the *French* in con-
structing their Great Offices so, as best answers the Purposes of
extending their Trade and Commerce, &c.

France, I thought it might be of Use to the Public to take a short View of the System of their Government, and the Construction of their great Offices; and in particular of their Council or Board of Commerce, that we might be the better enabled to judge of their Strength, Designs, and Connections in *America*. And in the Prosecution of the said Design I endeavoured to shew, that in Government there must be some Power, which compared with the rest might bear the Signatures of Authority, and claim the Right of Direction; for otherwise the Delegates of Power would be at Liberty to gratify every Appetite and Passion in its Turn, and indulge every Desire which happened to be uppermost. But that this not being thought consistent with the Dignity of the *French* Monarchy, their Offices were so constituted, as to make the King the sole Master and Arbiter of all Rewards; and that therefore he was considered as the Center to which all Persons employed in the Administration of publick Affairs, and all Matters relative to the Offices, ultimately resorted.

AND in treating of the Motives which induced *Lewis XIV.* to constitute a Board of Commerce, and the Plan upon which the said Board was constituted, I observed, that it was not much above half a Century since *France* was not a Soil in which one could expect Trade to flourish; the

Maxims

Maxims of their Government being, in many Respects, contrary to that Freedom and Security which are absolutely necessary for the Improvement or Enlargement of Trade. But that *Lewis XIV.* in a great Measure removed those Obstacles, by the Rules or Ordinances which he made on constituting a Council of Commerce in 1700. For whatever the Exigencies of State might require him to do at particular Junctures at Home, yet he took effectual Care to provide for the Security and Safety of his Subjects in *America*, so as not to leave them a Prey to the Governors and other Officers in the Plantations.

THE *French* King was under no Restraint in appointing what Form of Government he thought fit, or in directing that all the Lands in *America* should be considered as a Demesne of the Crown; but as the Order and Subserviency of all lesser Systems, and their Concurrence to the Good of the general System, depend upon the Subordination of the Parts, the Constitution of the *French* Council or Board of Commerce, and the Form of Government instituted in the Colonies, evidently shew, that the Crown reserved to itself only a Kind of parental Property in the *American* Colonies.

I added, that in many other Respects, the political Views and Foresight of the *French* King, and his

Ministers of State, cannot be sufficiently admired, particularly in making the Crown the Center to which all Matters, relating to the Colonies, must ultimately resort, by one Conveyance, or thro' one Channel only ; and in keeping the Offices, in all their several Branches or Departments, uniform, entire, and open, under severe Penalties to be inflicted on the Aggressors, and recoverable by the Subject, when injured by those in Trust and Power under the Crown.

IN order more clearly and effectually to illustrate this Matter, I inserted a Copy of the *French* King's Arret for establishing a Board of Commerce ; in which the Regulations, of greatest Moment and Efficacy, are, That the said Board of Commerce shall discuss and examine all the Propositions and Memorials which may be sent to it, together with the Affairs and Difficulties which may arise concerning Commerce ; and likewise that the Secretary of the said Board of Commerce shall take care to keep an exact Register of all the Propositions, Memorials, and Affairs, which shall be brought before the said Board, as also the Resolutions which shall be taken thereupon : In which, I took Notice, there was much Safety, as it is much easier to reject any Proposition, or Memorial, than to assign a good Reason for doing it. But that, what was still of greater Moment, the said Board of Commerce, being ob-
liged

liged to report their Opinion in the Manner above directed, on every Matter laid before them, they thereby preserved a Kind of Independency in their own Sphere of Action.

I LIKEWISE observed, that the Revenues arising in the *French* Colonies are accounted for in the Chamber of Accounts ; and that all Officers employed therein give Security to the said Chamber for the due Performance of their Duty ; so that on any Neglect or Omission in returning their Accounts, agreeable to the Rules prescribed to them, their Sureties are liable to be prosecuted ; and by this Means there is a constant Fund or Supply for the Use of the Colonies, which accordingly is applied to their Use, and, for the most Part, by Direction of the Council of Commerce.

AND then I endeavoured to shew the good Effects which those Regulations and Arrets in *France* have produced, by taking a cursory View of the Trade and Navigation of the *French* Colonies at the Time when the said Board of Commerce was first instituted, and comparing it with the present State thereof, and the surprising Increase of the Trade and Navigation of that Kingdom ; and thence observed, that from the whole Conduct of the *French* they evidently appeared to be of Opinion, that the Dominion of the Seas, and the Strength and Riches of their Country, in a great Measure, depended

pended upon the Improvement of their *American* Colonies ; to gain which great and valuable End they would not be wanting either in Industry, or in the Application of Money : And that as this was the Object of so great and powerful a Rival in Trade, it justly claimed our Attention to adopt every Scheme of theirs, which might suit our present Interest and Designs.

I AFTERWARDS endeavoured to point out the Designs of the *French* in forming Connections with the *Indians*, and in extending their Territories in *America* ; adding some further Remarks on that general Plan of Power which they are attempting to establish.

IN relation to which I observed, that whenever a Government had Consistency, and a proper Plan for managing their Affairs in Time of Peace, we might expect the same in War ; and that without it even fortunate Events would not turn to the Advantage of any Nation ; and thereupon concluded, that if we commenced a War against *France*, in Support of our Trade and Colonies, without first correcting the Abuses, which, thro' Time, had crept into the Publick Offices, we could not make any considerable Effort, either in extending, or protecting, our Trade and Settlements ; and that by wrong Informations we might be led into many and great Mistakes, even so as
to

to apply improper Remedies, which, in the End, might prove destructive to this Nation.

AND that, therefore, it was humbly conceived to be fit and proper (in those who had the Power to redress) to consider the present State of our Colonies, and of the Offices relative thereto; and as *France* could not have acted with such Success as she has done, if she had not had a standing Fund appropriated to the Use of her Colonies, which had been always applied to the gaining of the *Indian* Tribes, or Nations, and according to the other Exigencies of their Affairs, it became highly necessary for us also to establish a Fund for the Use of our Colonies.

AND in another Treatise *, published in 1755, I endeavoured to point out the mistaken Course of our proceeding in the Affairs of our Colonies; those in Trust and Office in the Plantations, having it in their Power, under various plausible Pretences, to take such Measures as might render every Thing done by them precarious and uncertain; which must, from the Nature of Things, open a Door to many Incroachments upon the

* Entituled, A Miscellaneous Essay concerning the Courses pursued by *Great Britain*, in the Affairs of her Colonies. With some Observations on the great Importance of our Settlements in *America*, and the Trade thereof.

Crown, and Acts of Oppression upon the Subject.

THEN, as one great Advantage the *French* have had over us in extending their Settlements, and in gaining the *Indian* Nations, or Tribes of *Indians*, to their Interest, hath principally arisen from their having several Funds, not only appropriated, but duly applied, to the Uses of their Colonies; and as, by our present Course of Proceeding, there is an Opening for many Incroachments, I thought it of Use to treat briefly on that Subject, and to shew, that as all the foreign Revenues of the Crown were formerly brought into the *Exchequer*, by Act of Parliament, the Reasons were equally strong for bringing the Revenues of the Crown in *America* into the said Court; for all the Revenues of the Crown under the View of the Lord Treasurer ought of Course to be brought into the *Exchequer*.

AND in the Prosecution of the said Discourse, I humbly offered it to the Consideration of the Publick, whether the Care and Vigilance of the *French*, in not only putting their Colonies into a Posture of Defence, but also into a Capacity of being very formidable, did not loudly call upon us to give the utmost Attention to the Affairs of *America*; for altho' we had very extensive Settlements, and many natural Resources, yet if those Resources were not properly exerted, they would
not

not avail us, or keep us from Surprise ; nor could we, in any Event whatsoever, reasonably hope for Success, until we introduced a regular and orderly Method of proceeding in Business.

THEREFORE, if we hastily pursued vigorous Measures, in the Recovery of the Territories which of right belonged to us in *America*, and did not first regulate our Course of Proceeding with Respect to the Affairs of our Colonies, and also build Forts for the Security of our frontier Settlements, and as a Place of Retreat to our Troops and to our friendly *Indians*, it was much to be feared, that all the Blood and Treasure we might employ to that End would not have the desired Effect ; and that our acting, at that critical Juncture, either too remissly, or too precipitately, might be the Means of drawing on a Train of evil Consequences, which, in the End, might prove destructive to this Kingdom.

THAT the Intrigues of the *French* in the *East Indies* were likewise very alarming, and their Views and Designs in *Germany* and *Holland* might easily be discovered ; so that there never was a Time, which called more loudly, or more importunately upon us, to take a View of our own immediate Concerns, and so to regulate them as to free us from all Surprise.

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AND

AND altho' we had a Fleet greatly superior to *France*, it was to be considered, that she had it in her Power to alarm us in different Quarters of the World, and so to divide and draw off our Strength, in the Protection of our Trade and distant Settlements, as to leave us too much exposed at Home; yet notwithstanding the Consideration of those Matters was really very alarming, it was still in our Power, if we did not delay the Season, to put our Affairs into such a Posture, as to defy all the secret and open Attempts of *France* against us; but that this could only be done by having a regular uniform Course of Proceeding in our publick Boards; which might be the Means of saving us immense Sums of Money, that have been too often profusely employed, at improper Times, to regain what we have lost by our Mistakes and Inadvertencies; the Truth of which might be evinced, by examining into our Conduct for upwards of twelve Years before the last War with *Spain*; and also the Measures we have pursued, since that Time, in relation to *America*. All which Mistakes, and the vast Expence attending them, might have been avoided, provided we had had a regular, uniform Course of Proceeding in our Publick Boards, and Funds applicable to the Use of *America*.

THEREFORE

THEREFORE it was most humbly hoped, that proper Attention would be given to the several Matters contained in the Course of that Essay ; that it would be thought for the Service of the Crown, and of the Subject, to regulate the Publick Offices so as to bring every Matter of Importance to the View of the Crown ; that it would be thought necessary for the Support of our Trade and Settlements, to establish some new Funds, applicable only to the Use of *America* ; that it would be thought for the Security of His Majesty's Subjects in *America*, and also for the Protection of our Trade and Settlements, to erect Forts near to the Five *Indian* Nations, to the *Upper Cherokees*, and to the *Creek Indians* ; and also that it would be thought for the Service of this Kingdom, to put our Islands in a Posture of Defence ; and, lastly, that the Importance of those Matters might be judged worthy of the Attention of those, in whose Power it was to defeat the secret Designs of our Enemies:

HOWEVER, as the aforesaid Treatises had not the desired Effect, and that we entered into a War without regulating our Affairs, and establishing a Plan or System of Action ; we have been thereby liable to an infinite Number of Mistakes and Inadvertencies, and from that Cause we have exposed ourselves to many Hazards, and to an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure. And as

such Regulations were absolutely necessary, previous to our entering into a War, and as by Experience we have found the fatal Consequences arising from the Want of them ; this ought to induce us, before we proceed further, to establish some invariable and fixt Plan of Action ; for without it, private Interest will, for the most Part, be preferred to the publick Good ; and Stratagems will be employed to deceive Men in Power.

AND altho' what is proposed may be attended with some Trouble, yet in the End it will give more Ease and Pleasure, and will be much more consistent with the Honour and Dignity of Men in Power, to pursue one invariable Plan of Action, than to be led out of the due Road of Business by every first Appearance, or Species of Good. However, as it is scarce possible to determine the Will of others, in any interesting Matter, without the Authority and Example of Men of eminent Wisdom and Experience, I shall pray Leave to mention, that Sir *William Cecil* (afterwards Lord *Burleigh*, and Lord High Treasurer of *England*) plainly shewed, by his Conduct, at the first setting out of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, that he thought the first Entrance into Business was the proper Time to establish a regular and orderly Course of Proceeding ; and therefore he requested her Majesty, by a Memorial, to remove to the *Tower*, in which Place the Archives, or Records, were then kept

kept; that being there freed from the Attendance and Importunity of her Courtiers, she might settle her Officers and Council, and take such other Steps as were necessary for regulating the publick Concerns of this Nation; a Copy of which Memorial may be found in the *Cottonian* Library.

WHEREUPON I beg Leave to observe, that Sir *William Cecil* was of Opinion, that if he deferred the Consideration of those Matters, and continued the Course of Business which was in Use in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, he would find it extreamly difficult, if not impossible, to introduce an invariable Plan of Action afterwards: And indeed, when Men in Power set out in a wrong Road, it is not easy to influence such as are in Connections with them, to return into a proper Course of Business; nor is it possible for them to guard against the Cabals or Factions which may be raised by Men who want to thrive and fatten upon the Spoils of a Nation.

THE Example of the Great *Sully* ought likewise to have its proper Weight; for when he undertook to reform the Abuses which had crept into the Administration of publick Affairs in *France*, he did not proceed by partial Reforms in the Great Council, in the Treasury, and in the Chamber of Accounts, &c. nor did he attempt to recover the Demesne of the Crown, until he had reformed

formed the Great Offices; because, although such an Attempt might have had some good Effects for the present, they could not have been permanent or lasting; nor could he in any Event whatsoever have redressed the many Grievances then complained of, or supported the Dignity of his Sovereign, if he had not laid a proper Foundation for the Structure afterwards to be raised by him. From which we may learn, that all Pretensions to Patriotism are vague and idle, and a mere Deception, unless they take their Rise from constitutional Principles; and when this is the Case, it will be found the first and most necessary Thing to restore the ancient System of the public Boards.

HOWEVER I shall in the present Discourse confine myself to the Consideration of the Affairs of our Colonies on the Continent, more especially as I intend hereafter, if needful, to treat of the System of our public Boards, from the Revolution unto this Time, having already traced it from the Reign of *Henry VII.* to that Period.

THE first Settlements of most of our Colonies in *America* were made by private Adventurers; many of the Colonies were afterwards incorporated by Charters or Privileges granted by the Crown, with a Power to make Laws, and to establish Courts of Justice, Forms of Judicature, and the Manner

ner of Proceeding, and in some Respects to establish their own Form of Government, under this Limitation, that the Laws or Statutes passed by them, should not be repugnant, but as near as possible agreeable to the Laws of *England*.

AND whereas in those remote Colonies situate near many barbarous Nations, the Incursions of the Savages, as well as other Enemies, Pirates, and Robbers, might probably annoy them; the said Corporations were authorized and impowered to levy, muster, and train all Sorts of Men, of what Condition soever, and to pursue their Enemies as well by Sea as by Land, even without the Limits of their respective Provinces.

It is also proper to mention, that there are several other Colonies that are more immediately dependant on the Crown, both with Respect to their Laws and Constitutions; yet it has been the Pleasure of the Crown, to allow them a kind of legislative Power, under particular Restraints and Limitations.

Now as all those Colonies may in some Particulars be considered, with respect to each other, as so many independant States, yet they ought to be considered as one with respect to their Mother Country; and therefore a Union of the Colonies, for
their

their general Defence, so framed as to oblige them to act jointly, and for the Good of the Whole, can only be made by the Wisdom of our Legislature ; and without such an Union, it is impossible to make the Colonies act with Force and Vigour, or to oppose the united Force of the *French*, altho' much inferior in Point of Number.

THERE is another Thing highly worthy of Attention, *viz.* that tho' the Charter Governments are entitled to make Bye Laws for the better ordering their own Domestic Affairs, yet they are not entitled to make Laws which may have a general Effect, either in obstructing the Trade of this Kingdom, or in laying Restraints and Difficulties on the neighbouring Colonies : For as their Power in a Legislative Capacity originally flows from the Crown, under certain Limitations and Restrictions, particularly that of not passing any Laws, but such as are consistent with the Constitution and Laws of this Kingdom, the Intention of the Crown must have been, that the Fitness and Expediency of such Laws should be only cognizable and determinable by the Crown, or by the Legislature in this Kingdom, as it is conceived the Colonies cannot be proper Judges in their own Case : Yet to such Excess have some of the Charter Governments proceeded, particularly *Rhode Island* and *Connecticut*, that they have enacted Laws, that no Law shall take Effect in their Colonies, unless it be first
authenticated

authenticated or enacted into a Law by them; and thus they have made themselves Judges of the Fitness and Expediency of their own Laws, by not transmitting them to the proper Boards at Home: Their Charters indeed are injudiciously silent on this Head, yet the Thing is in itself not only fit and reasonable, but absolutely necessary.

AND therefore if the Affairs of the Colonies are taken into Consideration in Parliament, it is humbly conceived, that it would be highly fit and proper to regulate this Matter, in order to prevent the many Incroachments, which several of the Colonies have made with respect to Trade, and in the issuing of Paper Bills of Currency, which hath often had a publick and a general Effect, and greatly injured the Trade and Commerce of this Kingdom; and in Case of an Union amongst the Colonies for their mutual Defence, it would make it impossible for them to make good the Supplies necessary to support the Charge of the Troops which may be sent from one Colony to the Support of another, especially as their Bills of Currency differ greatly in Value, and that they have no regular Course of Exchange between one Province and another: besides, in new Countries they cannot have those Resources which may be had in Countries where Trade and the Course of Exchanges are regularly established.

THE first or principal Motive for issuing Bills of Credit in the several Provinces on the Continent of *America*, was to answer the incident Charges of the respective Governments; and if this had been done under wise and prudent Regulations, there would not have been much Cause of Complaint: But in the first setting out they went upon a wrong Principle, by making such Bills of Credit a legal Tender in Payment of all Debts whatsoever, even such as were contracted before the issuing of the said Bills of Currency; which was assuming a Power which did not of Right belong to the Colonies, and was in its own Nature contrary to all the Principles of Law and Equity.

THE Method usually taken in emitting Paper Bills of Currency in the Colonies, was, by Act of Assembly to order that Bills of Credit to the Amount of should be stampd and signed by the Commissioners appointed for that Purpose; that such Bills should be lent out on Land Security, at legal Interest; and that such Persons as were possessed of the said Bills, should be intitled to pay their Debts with them, as rated by Act of Assembly.

THE said Bills had originally no other intrinsic Value than the being a Tender in Law, and enabling such Persons as borrowed them to discharge

charge their Debts therewith ; the Fund that was applicable to the Discharge or sinking of the said Bills arising wholly from the Interest paid by the Mortgagees into the Treasurer's Hands.

THIS Method of Proceeding is therefore diametrically opposite to all the Principles of Law and Justice, and in its Consequences prejudicial to the Crown, the Colonies, and the Trade and Commerce of *Great Britain*.

It is likewise to be observed, that in some Instances the Colonies have emitted Paper Bills of Currency upon the Credit of a future Provision to be made by Provincial Taxes for the Discharge of the said Bills ; but as often as the said Taxes have fallen short, or been misapplied, the Colonies have had Recourse to a new Emission of Paper Bills of Credit :— And in all Cases, the Value of the said Bills have fluctuated more or less, in Proportion to the right or wrong Application of the Funds whereon they were issued ; so that in several of the Colonies, at different Times, their current Bills have been greatly depreciated in their nominal Value, *viz.* from $33 \frac{1}{3}$ *per Cent.* to 600 *per Cent.* and in some of the Colonies 1000 *l.* in Bills of Currency would not, by the Course of Exchange, bring more than One Hundred Pounds Sterling ; but in this Respect there have been some Alterations made since 1748.

I have treated the longer on this Subject, in order to shew the Necessity of introducing one Currency as a Medium or Standard in the Inter-courses of Trade; for if at any Time hereafter, we unite the Colonies, so as to make them all concur and act together for the good of the whole, the having different Kinds of Currency will, as is above observed, lay them under great Difficulties in the Payment of their Quotas, or in paying the Troops which may be sent from one Colony to the Aid and Assistance of another; besides, their making the present Bills of Currency a Tender in the Payment of all Contracts, even special, where Gold or Silver is contracted for, is in itself unjust, and cannot be legitimated from the Plea of Necessity: therefore such Clauses in Acts of Assembly for emitting Paper Bills of Credit ought to be repealed. And altho' this may seem to injure the Holders of the said Bills of Currency, yet if the Colonies are obliged to make good the Funds on which they were issued, and that they are received in Payment of the provincial Taxes, and of the Quit Rents and Customs, the Holders of the Bills will not find any considerable Loss thereby.

BESIDES, the introducing of Paper Currency, as a Medium in Trade, is an Infringement on the Prerogatives of the Crown, and could never have
taken

taken Place in the Manner that it has done, if the Lords of Trade had not formerly omitted to report to the Crown, a true State of the Colonies once in every Year, as directed by their Institution or Appointment.

HAVING thus briefly mentioned such Matters as require the Consideration of those who have the Power to redress, I shall beg Leave further to offer to their Consideration, the Steps which I humbly apprehend may be necessary to be taken, in order to form an Union of the Colonies in *America* for their general Defence and Protection.

THE Colonies, as is above observed, are to be considered with respect to each other as so many independent States; yet they ought to be considered as one with respect to their Mother Country, being under the Protection of the Legislature, and in some Degree in the Character of Wards, or those under the Protection of Guardians; and altho' many Persons in the Colonies have often insisted that they have no proper Representative here, yet this Plea may with equal Reason be urged by many Men of Fortune in this Kingdom; but as both there and here such Persons enjoy the Privileges of Subjects, and the Protection of the Laws, they are indispensably bound to conform their Conduct to the Rules and Principles prescribed

scribed to them by the Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom.

AND therefore it is most humbly proposed to the Consideration of the Publick, whether it may be proper to enact, that every Person residing in the Colonies from the Age of Fourteen to Sixty, shall be liable to a Poll-Tax of Eighteen Pence Sterling, *per* Head, to be collected by such Officers as His Majesty shall appoint for that Purpose, or by Direction of the Governor and Council and Assembly in each of the Colonies respectively; and that the Sums arising therefrom shall be only applicable to the mutual Benefit and Advantage of the Colonies.

THAT as by a moderate Computation, the Poll-Tax so collected would amount to upwards of Fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, Commissioners be appointed by His Majesty to emit or issue Bills or Cash Notes (which may be intitled the Bills of Union) to the Amount of the Sum which may reasonably be supposed to arise therefrom; payable either in the Course of one, two, or three Years, or as the Exigency of Affairs may require, *viz.* if One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds Sterling be required, the Bills to be payable in three Years, and so in Proportion for a larger Sum.

THAT

THAT when the above Tax is collected, the said Bills be cancelled by proper Officers appointed for that Purpose; but as the Fund is every Year increasing, if the Exigencies of the Affairs of the Colonies require a further Emission of the Bills of Union, that the Commissioners be empowered to issue more Bills on the Credit of the said Fund.

THAT the said Bills be made a legal Tender in the Payment of provincial Taxes, in the Payment of the Quit-rents to the Crown, and of the Customs, and also in the Payment of such provincial Troops, as are raised for the mutual Defence of the Colonies, but not in any Case whatsoever to be tendered as a Payment in special Contracts; for they will always find their true Value, without taking this Step, or breaking in upon the Intercourses of Trade and Commerce.

THERE is another Course which may be taken, namely, to issue Exchequer Orders, or to issue Bills of Union, or Army Debentures, in small Sums, upon the Faith and Credit of Parliament; which may be done either Abroad or at Home; but then such Bills must be made redeemable within a reasonable and limited Time.

AND there is a third Method which has been often mentioned in private, *viz.* to introduce a Stamp Duty on Vellum and Paper in *America*,
and

and to lower the Duty upon foreign Rum, Sugar, and Molasses, imported into our Colonies to one Penny Sterling *per* Gallon; which Duties, if justly collected, would amount together to upwards of 60,000 *l.* Sterling *per Annum*, and in this Case it would be proper to establish and incorporate a Bank at *London*, by the Name, Style, and Title, of the Bank of *America*, in the following Manner, *viz.*

THAT One Million Sterling be raised by Subscription, each Subscriber paying down (as in our Bank Circulation) $\frac{1}{10}$ Part of the Money subscribed, the Subscribers being still liable to a Call for the Remainder, under the Penalty of forfeiting the Sum so deposited. That for the greater and more regular Dispatch of Business, the Bank shall have a Committee of Correspondents at *Williamsburgh* in *Virginia*, and another at the City of *New-York*, or if needful in all the Colonies.

THAT the Colonies on the Continent of *America* shall be at Liberty, by mortgaging their Funds, to borrow Bills or Cash Notes from the Bank; and that the said Bills or Cash Notes shall be made out by the Committee of Correspondents appointed by the Bank in such Sums, as the Legislature in the said Provinces respectively shall think fit to direct.

THAT

THAT the said Bills or Cash Notes shall circulate, and be a Tender in *America*, in the Payment of Chief Rents, Customs, and also in the Payment of Provincial Taxes, and in all Matters whatsoever wherein there is no special Contract to the contrary ; but at the same Time the Holders of the said Bills, or Cash Notes, shall be at Liberty to demand Payment for the same in *England*, in Sixty Days from the Time they are so offered for Payment to the Bank.

THAT the said Bank shall not issue any greater Sum in Bills or Cash Notes, than what is equal to the Sum subscribed by them ; and that the Bank shall be restrained from taking any higher Interest than *Six per Cent. per Annum*, for any Sum advanced by them to the Provinces by Way of Mortgage.

If this Scheme meets with Approbation, it will, as is conceived, be of infinite Service to the Colonies, and the Proprietors of the Bank will be greatly benefited by it ; which I shall endeavour to illustrate by the following Considerations :

By the Liberty granted to the Provinces to raise Money in the Manner above proposed, they will be enabled to discharge their present Bills of
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Credit,

Credit, which are, from their uncertain and fluctuating Nature, of great Disservice to the Credit, Trade, and Commerce of the Colonies.

THE said Provinces, by mortgaging their Funds, or such Taxes as they raise upon themselves, will have it in their Power to establish Loan Offices, in the Manner which has been practised in *Pennsylvania*; which may be the Means of bringing a great Number of foreign Settlers amongst them; the Truth of which may be fully evinced from what has been done in *Pennsylvania*, in which Province they have often supplied above Four Thousand Settlers, in the Year, with Money by way of Mortgage on the Lands taken up by them: So that if we had Loan Offices erected in the other Colonies, it is reasonable to believe, from the Dispositions of the *Swiss*, *Palatines*, &c. that vast Numbers of them would hereafter transport themselves to our Colonies in *America*.

AND with regard to the Proprietors of the said Bank, the Advantage arising to them may be very considerable, as in all Probability much less than One Hundred Thousand Pounds would circulate a Million Sterling. But then there is Allowance to be made for the Risk and Charge the said Bank would be at in carrying on this Business.

WHAT

WHAT I have now mentioned is only the Outlines, or Heads of what I would humbly propose to be carried into Execution, and may perhaps admit of some Alterations.

BUT if the above Regulations are approved of, it will be further necessary to establish a Militia in each of the Provinces, which should serve as Provincial Troops, not only in the Colony where the said Militia is raised, but also in any Part of *America*, where the Safety and Protection of any of the Colonies may require their Attendance.

THAT the Governor and Council in each of the Provinces have the Nomination of the Officers.

AND as the Magistrates, in the Counties in the respective Colonies, are the proper Judges of the Persons who can be best spared within the said Counties, that they be empowered to nominate such as shall serve in the Provincial Troops.

THAT the said Troops be allowed Arms when needful, and a Coat and Breeches, as an Uniform, once in two Years; and be exercised as frequently as the Governors and Councils of the Provinces shall judge that the Distance of their Habitations will allow them to assemble without hindering their

necessary Occupations ; and be allowed 2 *l.* 12 *s.* *per Annum* for their travelling Charges to the Place of Exercise. And that those who have served four Years, shall, if required, be discharged, and others, nominated by the Justices of the said Counties, put in their Room.

THAT when they are called upon to do Duty, or to march from one Colony to the Aid of another, both Officers and Soldiers shall be paid and provided for in the same Manner as the regular Troops in His Majesty's Service.

It is proper to observe here, that all Men fit to bear Arms in the Colonies are obliged to do Duty when the Law Military is declared by Proclamation ; but then they cannot be compelled to march out of their own Provinces, therefore the other Method is necessary to be taken, in order to unite the Force of the Colonies for their general Protection.

THERE are at least Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Men fit to bear Arms in *America*, but the small Number of White Inhabitants, and the Multitude of Slaves in the Southern Provinces, would render it unsafe for a great Number of the former to quit the Province : An Equivalent in Money ought therefore to be paid by these Provinces ; which might be raised, by including the
Slaves

Slaves in the Poll-Tax ; and this would be an equitable Way of raising it, as the Rich ought to pay more than the Poor.

ON the whole, the having of one Currency throughout all the *English* Colonies in *America*, if properly conducted, will be of infinite Service to their Trade and Commerce ; and their having provincial Troops, who may be called upon by the Crown, to aid and assist in whatsoever Place they may be required, will give Force and Vigour to the Colonies, and enable them to defend themselves against the Incroachments of the *French*.

AND the having a Fund appropriated to the Use of the Colonies will likewise enable them to make handsome Presents to the *Indians*, which ought to be done yearly, at such Times as are appointed for that Purpose ; but then the safest Course we can take, is to restore the Importance of the Five Nations, and make them to treat with the *Indians*, who were formerly their Dependants ; and we ought to observe the same Rule with the *Cherokees*, and with the *Creek Indians* ; and the more effectually to attach them to our Interest, we ought to apply at least Twelve Thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum* to that Use ; and to protect the *Indians* from the Abuses which have been too often committed by our *Indian* Traders ; some Regulations are much wanted on this Head.

IT

It may be objected by some Persons, that altho' the above Regulations are necessary and proper in themselves, yet this is an improper Juncture for carrying them into Execution. In answer to which I beg Leave to observe, that without an Union of the Colonies we cannot prosecute a War with any reasonable Hopes of Success : That the visible Decrease of the current Specie of this Kingdom, and the heavy Taxes we groan under, make it absolutely necessary to introduce all the Oeconomy in our Power, which may be consistent with the Safety or Protection of *America*; and that if this Matter is deferred until we come into Terms of Accommodation with *France*, it would then be an improper Time to do it, as it would carry all the Appearance of hostile Preparations, and immediately embroil us in new Troubles and Disputes with them; so that in all Respects this is the only fit Juncture to proceed in this Matter, and to lay the Foundation of our future Security and Protection.

AND if this is done under proper Regulations, the Colonies would be enabled to extend their Arms, and to vindicate their Rights and Possessions against the *French*, provided we do not limit their Bounds by any indigested Treaty with *France*.

BUT

BUT after all, with respect to our interior Concerns in the Colonies, if we do not regulate our Course of proceeding in the Offices in *America*, and at Home; the Subjects of this Crown in *America* may be made very unhappy from the unjustifiable Conduct of Men in Power; and there will also be an Opening for many Incroachments on the Crown, as well as on the Subject.

THEREFORE every Person concerned in collecting any publick Taxes, which may be levied in *America*, in pursuance of any Act of Parliament, ought to be obliged to give in Bond in the *Exchequer* for the faithful Performance of the Trust reposed in him.

THE Secretary's Office in each of the Colonies respectively in *America*, ought also to be considered as an Office of Record; and all Business transacted by His Majesty's Governors, either in a ministerial or judicial Capacity, or as Ordinary, in granting Probates of Wills, or Administrations, &c. should be entered at large in the Council Journals (which is a Branch of the Secretary's Office;) and so remain in the Colonies as a Record, for the Safety and Benefit of the Subjects; Copies of which ought also to be remitted to his Majesty's Secretary of State, and Council of Trade: And for the
Performance

Performance of this Duty, the Secretaries ought to enter into Bonds or Recognizances at Home.

AND as His Majesty's Governors are considered to have a Superintendency and great Influence over all the Officers within their respective Governments, if any of His Majesty's Subjects there apprehend themselves to be aggrieved by any Person in Power, they ought to be intitled to lay their Grievances before the Governor and Council; and to examine all such Evidences as they can produce in Support of their Charge, so as to make the same Matter of Record.

AND as those Records ought to be transmitted Home once in every Year to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, their Lordships might thereby be fully apprized of the Course and Proceedings of the Officers of the Crown, and of the Affairs of the Colonies; so as to enable their Lordships to recommend those Officers to the Crown who behaved properly in the Trust reposed in them, and to dismiss and punish such as deviated from their Duty. By the Institution of the Board of Trade, it evidently appears, that the recommending of Officers to the Crown, was a special Trust reposed in that Board, to be employed only for protecting the Servants of the Crown in their Duty, and rewarding Merit and Services.

I BEG

I BEG Leave further to observe, that although there appears great Wisdom and Knowledge in the Frame or System of our Council of Trade as drawn, or planned, by Lord *Sommers*, yet there are several Things wanting with respect to the Regulations necessary in *America*; and likewise in the original Instructions to our Governors, which were said to be prepared and drawn by Mr. *Locke*, who doth not seem to have been thoroughly acquainted with the due Course of Proceeding in the publick Offices, by which the Crown ought to be made the Center of Business. Those who want to be better informed on this Subject may look into the Rolls, where they will find all the Proceedings in relation to the constituting of a Council of Trade upon Record: But as this Affair will come properly within the View of another Discourse, I shall defer treating it any further till another Time.

HOWEVER, with respect to the Colonies, it is further to be observed, that although an Union amongst them is absolutely necessary, and cannot with Safety admit of Delay, yet as the *French* have introduced a great Number of regular Troops into their Colonies; and that they have prevailed with most of the *Indian* Nations to act in concert with their Irregulars, in scalping and murdering our frontier Settlers, and in intimidating many

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Thousands

Thousands of others, so as to make them desert and fly from their Habitations ; it becomes thereby indispensably necessary in us to transport a considerable Number of regular Troops to *America*. The Necessity of which may be better understood by considering the Situation, and what, in all Probability, are the Views and Designs of the *French* in the present War in *America* ; viz.

THE *French* Colonies are in the Form of a Crescent on the Back of the *English* Colonies in *America*, and extend opposite to our Settlements upwards of Fifteen Hundred Miles in Length ; and in this extended Country most of the *Indians* are in their Interest, at least under their Direction ; whereby they are enabled to make sudden and bloody Irruptions into our Colonies, and to exercise unheard-of Scenes of Cruelty. And as there has not been any System or Plan formed, for uniting our Colonies in their general Defence, instead of collecting their Force properly, they have been thrown into the utmost Confusion and Distress. So that the *French*, taking the Advantage of our want of System, have employed their Irregulars and *Indians* to massacre our frontier Settlers, whilst they employ their regular Troops, and *Coueurs des Bois*, to act against such Bodies of Men as we have collected together to annoy them in their Settlements.

AND

AN'D in relation to their present Views and Designs, I apprehend it may, upon good Grounds, be conjectured, that next Campaign they intend to attack us in three different Quarters ; and also by their *Indians* and Irregulars to alarm and destroy the back Settlements in all the *English* Colonies on the Continent of *America*.

FOR having this Winter sent upwards of One Thousand Men to *Mississippi*, in which Government they have not hitherto met with any Disturbance ; their unwearied and strenuous Endeavours to gain to their Interest those powerful Nations, which are known by the Names of the *Cherokee* and *Creek Indians*, and several smaller Nations in Confederacy with these (which, when collected together, would amount to upwards of Seven Thousand fighting Men) plainly discover their Intentions to be against *Georgia* and *Carolina*, and, in their defenseless State to over-run them, so as to gain their Sea Coast, or Ports upon the Western Ocean.

THE great Number of regular Troops they have at present in *Canada*, and the several Regiments which are said to be embarked, or at least ready to embark, for that Province, makes it reasonable to believe, that they intend to give such Regulars

as we have at present in *New York* Government, and such as we may hereafter send, even when joined with the *New England* Forces, full Employment : Or, indeed, if our Succours, or a farther Aid of regular Troops, be long delayed, to take Advantage of our Neglects or Omissions, and to seize, or take Possession of, the Provinces of *New York* and *Pennsylvania*.

THE Proximity, or Nearness, of *Cape Breton* to *Nova Scotia*, the Assistance of the *Indians* in the Province of *Gaspésie*, and the leaving a Part of the great Number of Troops the *French* are said to be shipping for *America*, at the Island of *Cape Breton*, may also greatly endanger the Province of *Nova Scotia* ; and if they succeed there, *Newfoundland* cannot make any considerable Resistance ; so that in such an alarming Situation of Things, we can neither depend singly upon the Protection of our regular Troops, or singly upon the provincial Troops, nor on both of them united ; until there be such a regular Plan formed, as may enable us not only to act against those Armies the *French* may bring into the Field, but also against the Incursions of the *Indians*, when joined with the *French* Irregulars. Which can only be done by uniting the Force of our Colonies, and by keeping several thousand Rangers constantly employed to watch the Motions of the *French* Irregulars, and to annoy them in our Turn ; in which Case many of the *Indians*,
who

who rather serve the *French* thro' Fear than Inclination, will immediately return to our Interest, and act jointly with our Irregulars, in disturbing the *French* in their Settlements; which would draw off many of the *Coueurs des Bois*, as well as of the Regulars, to the Protection of their own People. — But as this will require considerable Sums of Money, even more than we can easily spare, 'tis just and reasonable that the Colonies should contribute to an Expence principally calculated for their own Safety and Protection. Yet in the present Situation of their Currency, and in the Manner of raising the provincial Taxes, they are utterly unable to contribute any Thing considerable in this way, unless it be thought agreeable to the Wisdom of the Legislature to establish a Fund for the general Use and Security of the Colonies, or to allow our Governors in *America* to issue Notes or Bills of Credit, redeemable by some future Provision to be made by Parliament.

UPON the whole, if we compare the Number of the *French* Settlers on the Continent of *America*, with our Number and Situation, and the many Resources we have, if properly exerted, it is Matter of Wonder and Amazement to consider the Advantages they have gained over us, and the Danger we are still exposed to from the Want of System in the Conduct of publick Affairs: As we are at present circumstanced, we cannot reasonably,

reasonably hope for Redress, unless it be thought agreeable to the Wisdom of our Senators to appoint a Committee to examine into the State and Condition of our Colonies; to create a new Fund, and to establish a Militia, for the general Security of our Settlements, and to apply such further Remedies, as may be thought necessary in so interesting a Matter.

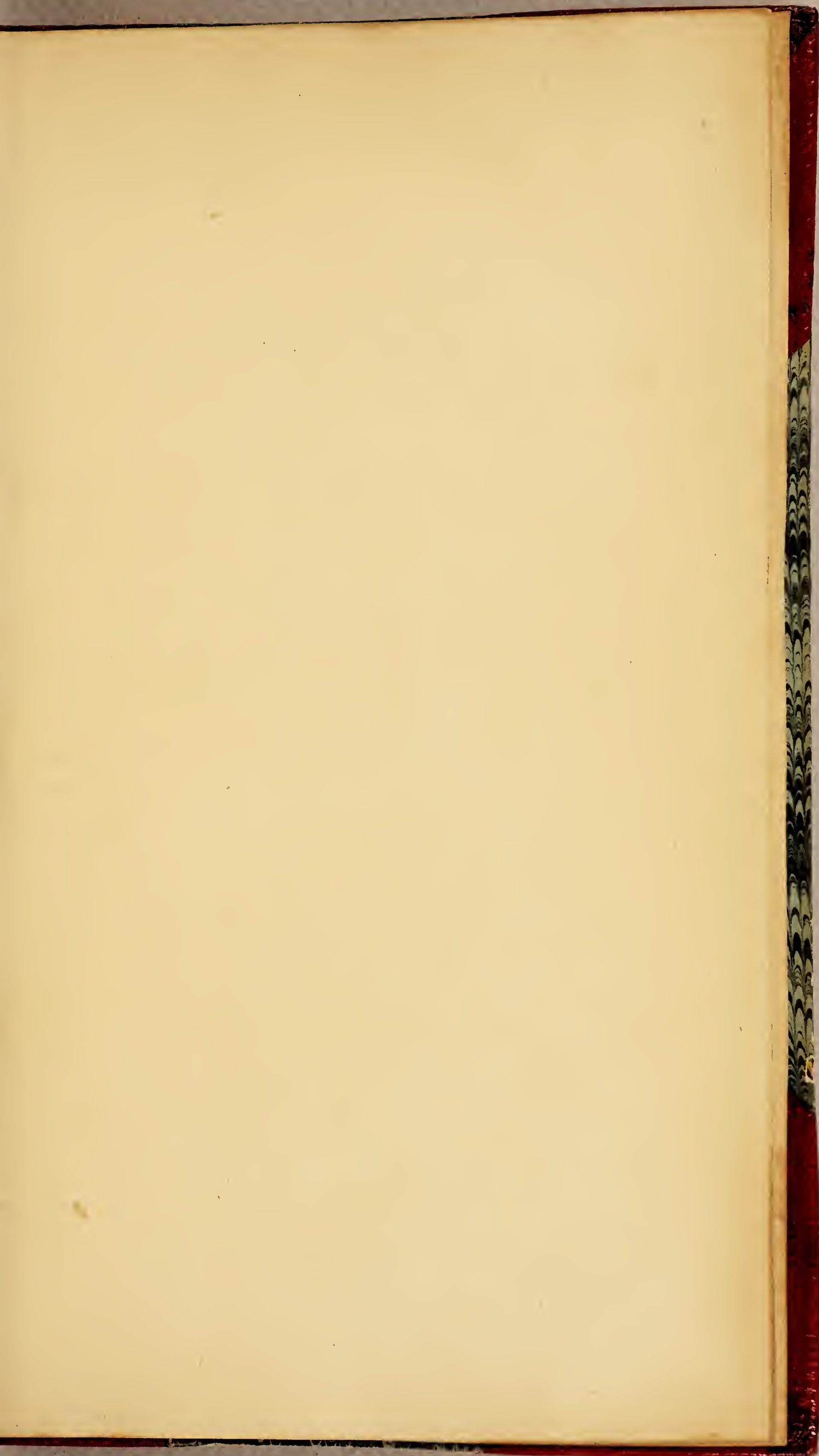
A N D altho' what is now offered may have the Appearance of giving much Trouble and Fatigue to the Members of any Committee which may be appointed for that Purpose, yet I humbly apprehend, that, in less than Ten Days, the Members of such Committee might examine and discuss such Proposals as may be brought before them; and that, in a very short Time, they would be enabled to propose such Remedies to the Honourable House of Commons, and also to settle such a Plan of Operation, as would effectually secure our Colonies on the Continent of *America* from the barbarous Cruelties daily committed by the *French* and *Indians*, and from the Incroachments of all our Enemies.

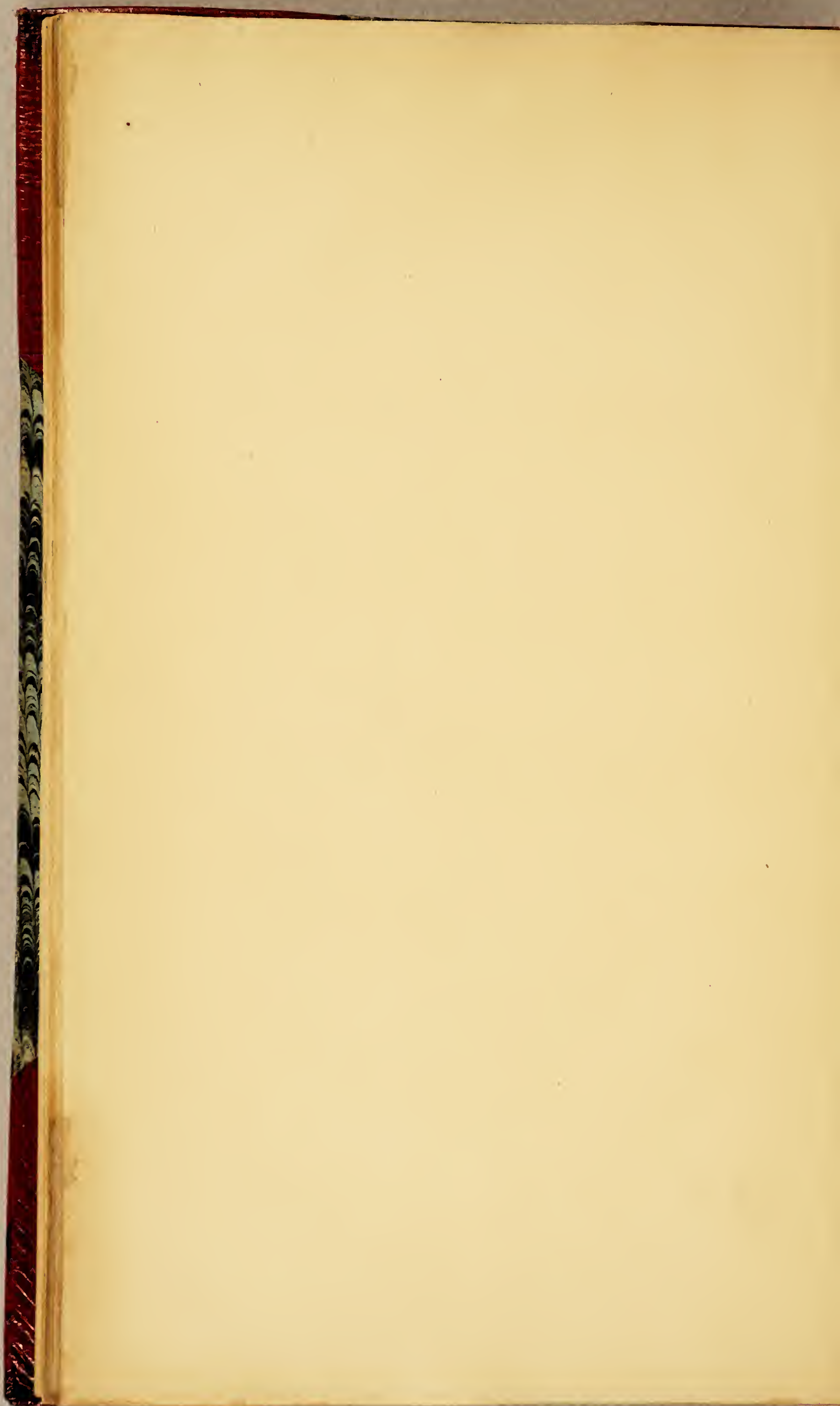
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